

Message Text

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S/S - MR. ORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 238758

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UK

SUBJECT: TENG-HEATH CONVERSATION

REF: PEKING 1819

1. UK EMBASSY HAS PROVIDED DEPT. SUMMARY REPORT ON HEATH'S VISIT TO CHINA. WHILE IT IS LESS DETAILED THAN REFTEL (WHICH WE DID NOT MENTION TO UK EMBOFF) AND DIFFERS ON MAIN POINTS IN ONLY A FEW MINOR WAYS, WE ARE PROVIDING IT TO YOU SINCE IT CAN BE REFERRED IN ANY DISCUSSIONS WITH BRITISH COLLEAGUES.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MR. HEATH'S VISIT TO CHINA

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-- 1. MR. HEATH VISITED PEKING FOR A DAY AND HALF OVER THE WEEKEND. HE HAD TWO AND A HALF HOURS TALK WITH VICE
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PREMIER TENG HSIAO-P'ING WHO ALSO GAVE HIM LUNCH AND A

LAST MINUTE INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN MAO WHICH LASTED AN HOUR. TENG SAID THAT CHOU EN-LAI HAD ALSO WISHED TO SEE HIM BUT WAS NOT WELL ENOUGH TO RECEIVE HIM.

-- 2. IN GENERAL, THE TALKS CONFIRMED EXISTING CHINESE ATTITUDES AND LINES OF POLICY RATHER THAN REVEALING NEW ONES. TENG EXPRESSED STRONG SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. SOVIET ACTION IN PORTUGAL WOULD BE A TEST OF THEIR INTENTIONS. SOVIET POLICY HAD NOT CHANGED AND THEY WERE STILL ATTEMPTING TO DOMINATE THE WORLD AND IN PARTICULAR EUROPE. WHAT OTHER PURPOSE COULD THE EVER INCREASING SIZE AND SOPHISTICATION OF SOVIET FORCES HAVE? HE WELCOMED THE RESULT OF THE UK REFERENDUM AND HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF EUROPEAN UNITY AND OF THE UNITED STATES ATTITUDE TO EUROPE. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE "FOCUS" OF US POLICY SHOULD BE IN EUROPE AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE CLEAR TO THE RUSSIANS. HE THOUGHT THE US MIGHT BE UNEASY ABOUT THE GROWING STRENGTH OF EUROPE. THE CHINESE WOULD DISCUSS THESE ISSUES FURTHER WITH THE US WHEN KISSINGER COMES IN OCTOBER.

US CHINESE RELATIONS

-- 3. CHINESE RELATIONS WITH THE US WERE "NORMAL" GIVEN THE CONSTRAINTS. TENG REPEATED THE FAMILIAR THREE CONDITIONS FOR THE FULL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES (ANNULMENT OF THE SECURITY TREATY WITH TAIWAN, WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES AND BREAKING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS). THE CHINESE COULD NOT UNDERTAKE ANY COMMITMENT ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE BECAUSE TAIWAN WAS AN INTERNAL QUESTION BUT THEY WERE A PATIENT PEOPLE.

KOREA

-- 4. TENG DISMISSED THE IDEA THAT THE NORTH WOULD ATTACK THE SOUTH. THEY SUPPORTED KIM IL-SUNG'S FIVE POINT PROGRAMME. U.S. FORCES MUST WITHDRAW AND LEAVE THE KOREANS TO SETTLE THE ISSUE THEMSELVES BUT THEY RECOGNIZED THAT THE PROBLEM WAS A LONG TERM ONE.
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ASIA-VIETNAM

-- 5. THE SOVIET UNION WAS SEEKING TO INCREASE ITS INFLUENCE IN VIETNAM AND WAS AVID FOR BASES THERE. BUT THE VIETNAMESE WERE NOT LIKELY TO SURRENDER THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. CHINA WOULD NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN CONFLICTS ABOUT BASES.

INDIA

-- 6. MANY COUNTRIES WITH CLOSE TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAD FALLEN OUT WITH THEM. EVEN INDIA MIGHT DO THE SAME ALTHOUGH AT PRESENT SHE WAS A CLOSE SOVIET FRIEND.

ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM

-- 7. THE SOVIET AIM WAS TO OUST U.S. INFLUENCE IN THE PACIFIC, DIVIDE AND CONTROL ASIAN COUNTRIES AND COMPLETE THE STRATEGIC ENCIRCLEMENT OF CHINA. BUT SUCH ENCIRCLEMENT COULD NOT SUCCEED.

JAPAN

-- 8. PROGRESS ON THE FRIENDSHIP TREATY DEPENDED ON THE JAPANESE.

WAR AND PEACE

-- 9. THE CHINESE BELIEVED THAT THE DANGER OF WAR WAS INCREASING BECAUSE OF THE CONTENTION BETWEEN THE SUPER POWERS. IF EUROPE GREW STRONGER AND MORE UNITED AND THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE WERE VIGILANT THE RUSSIANS MIGHT BECOME MORE PRUDENT BUT IN THE LAST RESORT IT WAS UP TO THE SUPER POWERS. TENG AGREED THAT THERE COULD BE A DANGEROUS SITUATION AFTER THE DEATH OF MARSHAL TITO IF THE RUSSIANS SOUGHT TO REASSERT THEIR INFLUENCE IN YUGOSLAVIA, BUT THE WHOLE SOUTHERN FLANK (PORTUGAL, SPAIN, ITALY, YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA) WAS VULNERABLE.

INTERNAL

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-- 10. CHINA HAD HAD A GOOD HARVEST AND WOULD NOT NEED TO INTERVENE IN THE INTERNATIONAL GRAIN MARKET IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

-- 11. THERE HAD NOT BEEN AN INCH OF PROGRESS.

MAO

-- 12. MAO WAS FRAIL, BUT FULLY LUCID. HE WAS EVEN MORE STRONGLY SKEPTICAL OF THE RESULTS OF HELSINKI AND MUCH PREOCCUPIED WITH THE SOVIET THREAT TO EUROPE. HIS THEME WAS THE NEED FOR EUROPE TO BE PREPARED FOR CONVENTIONAL SOVIET ATTACK. HE COMMENDED THE USE OF

GUERRILLA WARFARE AND SAID THAT IF THE RUSSIANS
ATTACKED CHINA THE CHINESE WOULD USE THE SAME METHODS
AGAINST THEM. HE CONFIRMED THAT THERE WAS NO PROSPECT
OF A SINO-SOVIET RECONCILIATION. U.S. AND JAPAN WERE NO
LONGER A THREAT TO CHINA BUT THE SOVIET UNION STILL
THREATENED BOTH EUROPE AND CHINA.

MAO INVITED MR. HEATH TO VISIT CHINA AGAIN AND SEE SOME-
THING OF MANCHURIA, INNER MONGOLIA AND SINKIANG. END
TEXT. KISSINGER

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